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COUNTRY China

DATE DISTR. 26 August 1948

SUBJECT Political Information: Suppression of the  
Nanking Edition of the Hsin Min Pao (新民報)

NO. OF PAGES 3

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SUPPLEMENT TO  
REPORT NO.

1. The Chinese National Government's permanent suspension of the publication of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao on 8 July 1948 was a victory for the C.C. Clique. Ostensibly the Hsin Min Pao was suppressed for criticising the government and for spreading Communist propaganda. Actually, however, it was suppressed because it had antagonized the C.C. Clique in the following ways:
  - (1) The Hsin Min Pao had supported General LI Tsung-jen (李宗仁) for the Vice-Presidency of the National Government and had very often implied in its articles that the C.C. Clique was supporting SUN Fo (孫科) for the Vice-Presidency in return for SUN Fo's support of CH'EN Li-fu (陳立夫), first for the Presidency and later (after SUN's defeat by LI Tsung-jen) for the Vice-Presidency of the Legislative Yuan.
  - (2) The Hsin Min Pao had supported FU Ssu-nien (傅斯年) for the Vice-Presidency of the Legislative Yuan against CH'EN Li-fu.
  - (3) The Hsin Min Pao had refused to comply with the request of the C.C. Clique leaders to criticize the policies of Political Science Clique leader CHANG Ch'ün (張羣) at the time when it appeared that he might be able to continue as Premier.
  - (4) The Hsin Min Pao had reported sarcastically on the demands of certain members of the Legislative Yuan for an increase in salary and had published the names of those individuals, among whom were many C.C. Clique members.
  - (5) The Hsin Min Pao had continued to attack the C.C. Clique even after CH'EN Ming-te (陳銘德), General Manager of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao and TENG Chi-hsing (鄧季惺), its managing Editor, had been elected National Assembly Representative and Legislative Yuan member, respectively. The C.C. Clique had expected that the policy of the Hsin Min Pao would become more pro-Kuomintang and more pro-C.C. Clique after CH'EN and TENG, who are husband and wife, were elected to office.
2. On 7 July, the day before the issuance of the Government order suspending the publication of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao, the Kuomintang Central Headquarters had issued orders to all Kuomintang members "not to support the 'Dandit' newspaper, the Hsin Min Pao, which was about to be suppressed". When TENG Yu-te (鄧友德), the Deputy Director of the Government Information Office learned about this Kuomintang order in the evening of 7 July, he was very much surprised and questioned many high government officials, but to no

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Letter of 10 October 1978 from the  
Minister of Central Intelligence to the  
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avail. Finally, he contacted HU Tzu-ang (胡子昂), Director of the Board of Publications and close friend of CHANG Ch'un. HU telephoned CHANG, who knew nothing about the matter, but promised to investigate. CHANG later telephoned HU and informed him that the suppression of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao had been suggested to President CHIANG by certain high Kuomintang officials, including KU Cheng-ting (谷正鼎), Acting Head of the Ministry of Organization, which is controlled by the C.C. Clique. The President had approved the suspension of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao and his approval had been conveyed through LI Wei-kuo (李惟果), CH'EN Pu-lai (陳布萊) and others to the Minister of the Interior, P'ENG Chao-hsien (彭昭賢). Without consulting Premier WENG Wen-hao (翁文灏), P'ENG issued the order suppressing the Hsin Min Pao.

3. When CHANG Li-sheng (張厲生) was appointed Vice Premier of the Executive Yuan, P'ENG Chao-hsien, who had been Vice-Minister of the Interior under CHANG, was promoted to Minister of the Interior. With CHANG, a comparatively honest and responsible public official as Minister of the Interior, it had been impossible for the C.C. Clique to effect the suppression of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao. However, when P'ENG, an active and ardent C.C. Clique member became head of the Ministry, the C.C. Clique was in a position to strike back at the Hsin Min Pao. P'ENG's first step was to appoint as Political Vice-Minister of the Interior HU Tz'u-wei (胡次威), who is a member of the Political Science Clique and was Administrative Vice-Minister of the Interior under CHANG. In this way P'ENG gained complete control of the administration of the Ministry and will maintain this control until a new Administrative Vice-Minister is appointed. The time had now come for the C.C. Clique to attempt to suppress the Hsin Min Pao in retaliation for that newspaper's attacks against the C.C. Clique. Consequently, the C.C. Clique members in the Legislative Yuan accused TENG Chi-hsing of publishing in the Hsin Min Pao military and political secrets discussed in the Legislative Yuan and demanded a thorough investigation of the newspaper. However, TENG, supported by LIU Fu-t'ung (劉步同) and many other members of the anti-C.C. Clique New Politics Club (See [redacted] proved to the satisfaction of the majority of the members of the Legislative Yuan that the Hsin Min Pao was pursuing a policy similar to that of many other newspapers. When it appeared that the C.C. Clique was fighting a losing battle in the Legislative Yuan, P'ENG finally took the drastic step of suppressing the Hsin Min Pao for violating Sections 2 & 3 of Article 21 of the Old Law of Publications by spreading Chinese Communist propaganda and false rumors and severely criticizing unjustly the National Government.

( [redacted] Comment. Suppression of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao caused the following press comment in Nanking and Shanghai, the most vehement protests being made by the Whampoa Military Clique and the Political Science Clique organs:)

On 9 July, the Nanking Jen Pao (人報) expressed its sympathy for the Hsin Min Pao and its dissatisfaction with the suppression order.

On 10 July, the Shanghai Ta Kung Pao (大公報), Independent and Political Science Group organ, was the first newspaper to declare that the Law of Publications, which had been the basis for the suppression of the Hsin Min Pao, was unconstitutional.

On 11 July, H.H. KUNG's China Press, published in Shanghai, expressed the opinion that a distinction must be made between "Communist Party Tail Newspapers" and "plain-speaking newspapers" and that the suppression of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao must not be permanent.

On 12 July, Shanghai-Woosung Garrison Commander HSUAN T'ieh-wu's (宣鐵吾) Ta Shung Wan Pao (大東晚報) declared that "newspapers must speak frankly", that "this is not the era of kings" and that "even in the era of kings, good kings listened to public opinion".

On 13 July, the Shen Pao (申報), C.C. Clique organ, defended the Law of Publications, concluding that the newspapers must not misinterpret the expression "freedom of speech".

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On 13 July, the Shanghai Hsin Min Wan Pao (新民晚報) published a protest against the suppression of the Nanking edition of the Hsin Min Pao signed by twenty-four persons, including newspaper and magazine editors and former government officials. Among those who signed were TS'AO Chu-jen (曹聚仁), editor of the Whampoa Military Clique newspaper, the Ch'ien Hsien Jih Pao (前線日報), and CHOU I-chih (周一志), the publisher of the new magazine Reform (改造).

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